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The Attack on America

Address before the Quarterly Meeting of the

SOCIETY OF THE
FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK
In the City of New York
(INSTITUTED 1784)

By
EDWARD F. McSWEENEY
BOSTON, MASS.

New York
Monday Evening, November 15, 1920

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FOREWORD

FOLLOWING an old-time custom of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, a series of addresses on questions of importance have been delivered at their quarterly meetings held at stated intervals throughout the year.

At the meeting on November 15, 1920, the following remarkable address was delivered by Mr. Edward F. McSweeney, of Boston. It evoked so much enthusiasm and made so profound an impression upon the members of the Society present that it was unanimously decided by them that the address should be printed for distribution and sent, not alone to the members, but to others in the discretion of the officers of the Society.

In spite of the fact that the lecturer is already well known throughout the country, it may not be amiss to say a word of introduction of him to those members of the Society who were not fortunate enough to be present at the last meeting.

Edward F. McSweeney is one of the foremost members of the group of American citizens of Irish blood who during the last two years have rendered such splendid service to our country in awakening her to the dangers that threaten her from foreign intrigue, thus continuing the extraordinary services rendered to America by men of Irish blood, in peace as well as in war, throughout the entire period of our existence as a nation. Scholar, student, economist, lecturer and writer, he has done much to dispel the mists of misrepresentation which the spokesmen of that group of citizens who would like to undo the work of the Revolution had spread over the land, and his work has greatly helped in the forming of the fairer estimate now held by citizens of non-Irish blood of the great contribution made to the foundation, the upbuilding and the preserva-

tion of our country by men of Irish blood. Not the least of his services to our country is his work in exposing in Massachusetts the efforts made in England's interest to re-write for our school books the story of the Revolution, and to present that great event as a petty quarrel between a German king and a handful of hot-headed, misguided rebels.

The following lecture is a good example of his work. It discloses the wide range of his studies, and the thorough manner in which he handles a thesis. He states his facts clearly and argues dispassionately and moderately for his conclusions.

He shows that in every generation since the Declaration of Independence the friends of England have been working tirelessly to undo the result of the Revolution and to reincorporate our country in the British Empire. That they have failed thus far in their efforts is due in large measure to the unceasing vigilance of American citizens of Irish blood, who have ever recognized the essential importance to America of following the advice of Washington against entangling alliances.

Never was the British Empire in greater need of the assistance of America than at this time; never were her agents more busily engaged in their efforts to prove that the British Empire and America are essentially one in ideals, sentiments and interests. They have seized the Tercentenary Celebration of the Pilgrims to attempt to prove that our institutions are the outcome of English ideals and our liberty the outgrowth of English struggles for progress.

Mr. McSweeney with lucidity and fairness shows the utter absurdity of this claim and places the real facts in orderly historical array.

His labors will be well repaid if they result in helping to awaken our countrymen to the dangers that menace us from outside interference with our affairs and recall to us the great truth that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

DANIEL F. COHALAN,
President of the Society of the Friendly Sons
of St. Patrick in the City of New York.

SINCE the completion of the Jay Treaty in 1793, there has been a continuous effort either to subjugate the United States to foreign political control, or to entangle it in the complexities of European diplomacy.

Except in the minds of men like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, the American Revolution was not originally a struggle for separation from England, but, rather, an effort to reform or abolish the injustices afterward cited in the Declaration of Independence. While the support of Burke and Barrè was genuine as far as it went, it did not go farther than to demand that the wrongs against which the Colonists complained, must be righted by England, but the imperial connection was to be maintained. Almost up to the Declaration of Independence, Franklin, Washington and John Adams were not for separation, but once the war was begun the situation in the Colonies crystallized into a clear-cut, unequivocal demand for independence. After 1778 Washington could have ended the contest at any time, with substantially every demand of the Colonies granted: except separation. The famous Staten Island Conference, which rejected the proffer of General Howe, represented the unanimous opinion of the colonial patriots, who, at best, numbered only a little more than a majority of the total white population. Under the circumstances, the persistence of Washington and his supporters in enduring all the miseries which they went through for five years, after he could have obtained an honorable peace if he would consent to British control, is the best answer to the anti-American propagandists, who are today spreading fantastic falsehoods to undermine American patriotism and respect for and belief in our national origins.

For some years after 1782 the European powers had little confidence in the permanency of the new Republic. England openly declared that the separation was only accidental and temporary. It has never ceased, to manifest this belief, in its attitude of hatred and hostility to this country at the critical periods of its career. Political differences in England and national peril abroad made the war against the American colonies the plaything of politics and had great influence on the result. The obvious belief that even if the Colonies temporarily separated, they would later be restored to Britain has remained ever since the mainspring of British attitude toward the United States.

After the signing of the Jay Treaty and the establishment, under Hamilton, of a sound basis of national finance, European diplomacy began to realize that across the Atlantic a permanent liberalizing force in world affairs had been firmly established, which must be conquered or cajoled. Washington, who foresaw that the attempt to reconquer America would be made, in 1796 laid down the broad philosophical principle fundamental to the idea which had brought this nation into being—as immutable today as when it was made — that Europe had, and must always have, primary interests with which the United States had little or very remote relation; the nations of Europe would, and of necessity must, he said, be engaged in frequent controversies, and it would be most unwise for the United States to be implicated, by artificial ties or otherwise, in the combinations and collusions of European friendships or enmities.

When Washington uttered these words, England and France were deadlocked in a terrific struggle for mastery of the sea and supremacy in India, which continued until the Congress of Vienna erased the French Empire from the map of Europe. With control of the sea, and Indian dominance assured, England entered on an era of passive friendship with France, it being the English policy that after a competitor has been depleted by war, with its reservoirs of manhood and material wealth exhausted, a show of friend-

ship will permit gathering the profits of its former enemy's weakness, as witness the duplicity of the present English attitude toward Germany.

After the Jay Treaty, our trade treaties with England were one act after another of contemptuous disrespect of our national rights, which finally culminated in the War of 1812. During this time English propaganda in the United States was organized officially as an aid to English military power. It was only by a miracle that the Federalist secessionist faction were prevented from taking New England out of the Union and setting up an independent State, subject to England, under the nominal headship of a member of the English royal family. The successful ending of the War of 1812, was coincident with the Congress of Vienna, where the Czar of Russia, a well-intentioned theorist and a firm believer in the "Divine right," was manipulated by Metternich in formulating a league—deliberately designed to uphold imperial absolutism in Europe—which was called the "Holy Alliance."

The reaction of the United States to its victory over England in 1815 was shown in national disapproval of the imperialistic "Holy Alliance," followed by the political extinction of the Federalist "pro-Britishers" and the rebirth of an eager Americanism, which continued without abatement for forty years. This American spirit in 1823, brought into being the "Monroe Doctrine," against the integrity of which, for obvious reasons, the powerful opposition of England has been continuous.

During the twenty-five years after 1815, the development of the modern industrial system; the growth of modern sea power, following the introduction of the iron ship; with the domestic questions of "Catholic Emancipation" and Chartism; and the political and economic agitation led by Bright and Cobden in England and John Mitchel and James Fenton Lalor in Ireland, kept England so busy at home that it had not time to bother with America. The changes following

the birth of the factory system and the debased position of the worker, especially in England, was accompanied by a spirit of industrial protest in England and the continent which permitted the United States to work out its own program unhampered by foreign diplomatic influences.

After the iron ship was introduced, in the early 40's, the United States answered the attempt of England to get mastery of the seas, by building, in the decade and a half ending with 1855 a greater number of ships than had ever been turned out by a nation before in the history of the world. The answer of England to this demand for trade equality was the beginning, in 1840, of the intrigue to break down the Monroe Doctrine, by invading Venezuela secretly but persistently continued until it was frustrated fifty-five years later by Grover Cleveland. A few years later, England's underhand participation in the quarrel, which finally resulted in the Mexican War, was designed as the entering wedge to break up the American Republic.

In 1850, Germany and Russia and Japan were still negligible factors as commercial powers. The Civil War gave Great Britain an opportunity to stifle the growing maritime competition of the United States, which it did with a ferocity of hatred and malignity which even the passage of seventy years cannot befog.

With the Civil War ended, American shipping, due to English enmity, had been destroyed. The profits in manufacturing, and the money to be made in developing western farm and grazing areas and providing railroad communication between the two oceans, over-balanced the attractions of the over-sea trade which, before the Civil War, had provided the bulk of the great American fortunes. Fitful but unavailing attempts were made to revive our merchant marine. America for the next thirty years provided Europe with the raw materials and food products it absolutely needed. Britain was permitted to dictate as to ocean freight and rates; it combined with American railroads; it assumed the

undisputed authority over American ports and over-seas trade. This, for England, is the ideal to be encouraged.

By 1890 Germany had grown so strong that it demanded from England equal partnership on the seas, and after a sharp rate-cutting war forced compliance, and sea control was thereafter, until 1914, British and German. From that moment, the great war to decide which of these two nations would be absolute master of the seas was inevitable.

The policy of political absolutism following the "Holy Alliance" in 1815 had forced the workers of Europe into a position of economic serfdom, which, since that time, has sent thirty-five million aliens to the United States, who constitute today, in their descendants, more than 75% of the American population. The Irish potato famine in the late 40's, which in ten years cut the population of Ireland in half, and started the tide of Irish emigration to this country, was a reflection of the political absolutism of the "Holy Alliance," slightly modified in England by the Reform Bill of 1842. This same evil influence with similar results was also at work in France, Germany and Austria. It was the debased condition of the English worker in the 40's which caused Carl Marx to write *Das Capital* and thus to become the leader of an economic theory which, if it ever finds popular support will, in practical operation, obliterate and replace democracy, with all its faults, with a tyranny under which the imperfections of the present industrial wage system will seem like paradise. The "Union of Kings," miscalled the "Holy Alliance," the model for the League of Nations, designed to uphold political absolutism, embroiled Europe in war. It made and kept the nations poor. It made the United States rich and great, because it forced the coming to this country of the millions of aliens, without whose labor our country would not have achieved its position and power. This alien labor power enabled our manufacturers to carry out the political policy, entered into after the Civil War, of stimulating manufacturing production on the theory that the United States

could, for an indefinite time, consume all it could produce. By 1890 the nation had progressed so fast in "quantity production" that in ten months our factories could turn out more than the nation could consume in the full year. The financial panic which began in the Argentine in 1890 and reached this country immediately after the election of 1892, delayed for some years full appreciation by the people of the United States of the gravity of the situation. A majority, in fact do not realize it now. Today we face four months' annual unemployment, or, to keep our factories constantly busy, we must dispose of our additional four months' product in the markets of the world. This means "freedom of the seas," which England will never consent to, without the application of force, and to control the situation even before 1890, England saw what was coming and began its propaganda campaign to make the United States a subordinate partner in its enterprises.

In 1885, the historian Freeman discovered that George Washington, who from 1776 to 1782 would have been hanged and quartered as a rebel if he had been captured by the English, was the "originator of Greater Britain." Yet at the very moment Freeman was making this statement, the scenes were being laid for the final act of the conspiracy, which, in 1840, had been planned to overthrow the Monroe Doctrine, through English control of British Guiana; only finally to be defeated when President Cleveland drew, in its behalf in 1895 the sheathed sword of American democracy and forced England to back down. If the attack on the Monroe Doctrine through Venezuela had not been defeated in 1895, it is almost impossible to imagine the result on the future of free institutions on this continent.

The turning point in the history of the American people was when we won the war from Spain in 1898, and by taking over the Philippines became a factor in the Eastern question and the contests between the powers for colonial expansion in the Far East. From that moment Germany and England instituted propaganda campaigns in the United

States. Within the space of a few years three separate attempts were made by England to establish a partnership by so-called Anglo-American alliances, each of which would, in fact, violate Washington's admonition not to become involved in the "primary interests and diplomatic intrigues of Europe." And each of which was defeated, largely due to the vigilance of the American Irish.

After 1900 the necessity for a foreign market for the surplus products of the United States became more and more evident. The speech made by President McKinley at Buffalo a few hours before he was shot, was a solemn warning to the United States of the need to abandon our policy of commercial isolation and enter into competition for foreign trade. Roosevelt accepted the McKinley policy, and built the Panama Canal to open up to America the trade of the Orient and to give much-needed encouragement to our merchant marine, an ambition frustrated by Great Britain when it secured, in 1913, through President Wilson, the repeal of the action giving preferential treatment to American ships.

After 1900, two alien propaganda campaigns were being carried on simultaneously in this country. Germany had obtained world control of the dye industry. It had the monopoly of the world sale of certain American raw materials. It dominated the immigrant steerage traffic. It maintained a lobby at Washington. It attempted to establish and to a measure succeeded, in spreading by exchange of professors and skilful propaganda, the idea that Germany was intellectually and scientifically the leader of world thought.

England was more practical in its propaganda campaign. It saw, long in advance of the rest of the world, and the United States in particular, that, in the coming contest with Germany, after 1890—marked for commercial slaughter, as Spain, France, Holland and Denmark had been since the 16th century. In the words of Cecil Rhodes, to make this certain "the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire" was essential.

Rhodes had started out "to paint the map of the world British red," and, to further the interests of the British Empire, he said he would "annex the very planets if he could." Working with Rhodes in the United States was the late Andrew Carnegie, who said that "as surely as the sun once shone on Britain and America united, so surely it is one morning to rise upon and greet again the re-united States of the British American Union."

And then came the Great War. When it started, we were selling less American-made shoes and manufactured goods in Europe than we were in 1910. The year before the war started, an investigation by the United States Senate disclosed the fact that a shipping combine, English and German, with a branch in the United States ostensibly under the American flag, had it in its power, from an office in London, to decree that American citizens could be shut off from overseas trade. It was not possible to start a competing line between North and South America or any European or Oriental port. In fact, the right of the United States to foreign trade, except on terms dictated by this alien shipping combination, did not exist. It does not today. England controls the seas.

Commercially, America is in chains, and doomed to slow down production one third or find its wage earners unemployed a corresponding period each year. The second of Wilson's "14 points" was lost on the way to Paris. It is to maintain this sea control that we are being soothed by propaganda, one form of which is to appropriate our national heroes. Lord Bryce said, at the dedication of the Lincoln statue in London this year, "He (Lincoln) is as much ours as he is yours." Adams was our ambassador to Great Britain, during the Civil War. Read in his memoirs, and those of his son Henry how the English regarded Lincoln while he was alive. Every infamous slander that could be devised was constantly used against him, yet today "he is as much ours as yours" and Lloyd George is called a second Lincoln.

We elected a President in 1916 because he kept us out of war. Within five months from that time we were at war, and every act of the government since has had the result to keep us out of peace.

We allowed England through Rathom openly to attack our most distinguished men, and openly to dominate the agencies of publicity; to control the secret service; to create and circulate wholly unfounded scares about a largely mythical enemy-alien agitation; and to segregate into a separate class every person in the United States who dared to hint, what subsequent events have proved, that as England used Germany a hundred years ago to subdue Napoleon and wipe out France as a commercial competitor, and as a hundred years later, in 1914, it used France to subdue and wipe out Germany, England's then most important commercial rival, it was inevitable, because gratitude for services does not exist in English diplomacy, that the United States, which had saved England from extinction, in 1917, would, as England's only remaining commercial rival, be the next nation that England would move ruthlessly to destroy.

What are the direct present manifestations of British activity in America? The limitations of time compel only the briefest mention of a few of the more important.

First, the attack on our public schools, proved conclusively to be under the inspiration and direction of Lord Northcliff, which attempts to change our history text-books to disparage the personalities and motives of the principals in the American Revolution. According to this propaganda, Washington and his colleagues were wrong, and only the leaders of an ignorant, criminal and cruel mob. American Independence was only a sudden thought, and not the result of long growth and development. There was no persistent desire by the colonial patriots for Independence and liberty to work out their own destiny. There was no struggle based on the rights of man. One of the greatest epochs in the forward march of civilization was as if only "an occurrence

in a fairy tale." The American colonies would have been better off fourteen decades ago if they had remained under British rule. The effort is intended to replace the iron chains of Colonial oppression with the gilded ones of Dominion allegiance. This proposition is the most impudent affront ever offered to a friendly nation in the history of the world. A similar campaign would not be tolerated for a day by any European nation. It is possible in the United States only because of our lack of knowledge of its extent, and our good-natured confidence in our own destiny. This propaganda, is the more reprehensible because it comes at a time when the nation is concentrating on an "Americanization" movement to repel the appeal to Bolshevism. To work among aliens to build up respect and loyalty for the United States while a stupendous plot is under way to destroy the very thing we are pleading with these aliens to preserve, is wasted effort. We cannot do the one and ignore the other. As Benjamin Franklin said, "Those who give up essential liberty to purchase temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." The "revised" history text-book propaganda has been fully exposed. It exists in every American State, but, as the facts are becoming known, is rapidly being put on the defensive everywhere.

An important auxiliary British propaganda agency is the moving picture. Five American film companies have been absorbed by British capital, and films are usually distributed without charge—Sir Gilbert Parker, who represented Lord Northcliff in the U. S. as publicity agent during the war is now in California, supervising the preparation of propaganda scenarios. The *London Times* in its issue of September 12th boastingly stated that 30,000 propaganda films are now being shown in the United States.

It is also an interesting fact, worthy of mention here, that the American agencies defending and supporting the British inspired "reform" of our school text-books are all imbued with the sinister effort to Bolshevise public school

control, as proposed by the Smith-Towner bill. Ever since our Republic was born it has been obliged to fight against the creation of a caste in a democracy, and if this effort succeeds it can wipe out the spirit of American Nationalism in one generation.

Another important machine of propaganda is the occasion of the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. In this we are seeing an extension of this same attack upon fundamental and long-held American beliefs. The band of religious enthusiasts who, for their souls' peace, crossed the seas in the "Mayflower" in 1620 are, in this tercentenary year, being transformed. "They have suffered a sea change into something new and strange." With one wave of the pro-British wand they have become pioneers of British imperialism, conscious carriers of the blessings of Anglo-Saxon civilization to the then almost unknown continent of America and progenitors of the pro-British propagandists of today.

We must excuse some of the enthusiasm of people who, having little to be proud of in their present life, are desperately anxious to hitch themselves to a past of some significance; but there is absolutely nothing in the story of the Pilgrims to justify the new interpretation put upon their journey to this country three centuries ago.

In cold fact, who were they? A party of men and women, of what might be called today, the English lower middle-class, who had become dissatisfied with the rule and ritualism of the Church of England and had formed a congregation of their own, evolving a form of belief and worship based, as they believed, more truly upon the Bible. In order not to have their peculiar tenets interfered with they left England, at first for Holland, but not liking the environment there and hoping, also, to better themselves economically, they took ship for America, landing, by chance, at that part of Massachusetts which years before had been called Plymouth on the map of John Smith.

Against these brave-hearted men and women, no one of

us today wants to utter a word. Deprecating their narrowness of religious belief and polity, we may still admire their virtues of pluck and endurance. But it is the height of absurdity for the tercentenary celebrators of today, to try to make out that these people were the advance guard of British imperialism, or that they came bearing with them the sacred fire of "freedom" which they had received, in setting out, from Britannia herself.

The facts in the case are that they were, in a very real sense, rebels against the power and policy of their own country, very glad to escape from under the heel of her economic and religious oppression, very resentful of the continuous attempt made to control them by the Stuarts, Cromwell and Hanoverians from the time of their arrival here, and up to the Revolution, and very much concerned, not, with extending the power of the Crown, but with attending to their own affairs and working out their own salvation—religious, political and economic.

It would be a great surprise to the Pilgrim Fathers if they could now be told that they were stirred by the "Anglo-Saxon impulse," and they would have been equally surprised if someone had prophesied to them that the nation whose king had "harried them out of the land" would, in three hundred years, be claiming them as fully-accredited emissaries of British ideas.

This view of the Pilgrim incident in America's history fits in with British propaganda in other directions. If it can be shown that the very Fathers of the first Massachusetts colony had the same concepts of the mission of the British Empire as those held today by Lloyd George and Sir Auckland Geddes, of course the rest is easy.

This, then, is a deliberate attempt on the part of Great Britain to Anglicize the tercentenary celebration. Honest Americans who love the lime-light and delight in English approval are being used to further this attempt. As to this there is no doubt in the world. Evidence of it accumulates.

British officials are active in it, although it is interesting to note that the Pilgrim celebration in England, so far as the English people themselves are concerned, has fallen very flat indeed, the reason for this being that the Pilgrim Fathers are almost unknown to the British people. If they ever think of them at all, it is as a queer set of people who, being out of step with the rest of their countrymen, fled away to America, and "good riddance to them."

Another principal object of British propaganda is to build up and extol a mythical Anglo-Saxon race, and to monopolize, for England's sole credit, every worthy act done in the world by any person speaking the English language—exactly as the term "Scotch Irish" was invented to shut the great majority of the Irish race from all credit for notable achievement in any department of human affairs. This propaganda has enlisted in this country an army of "Near Americans," one of whom has clearly stated the purpose of the Anglo-Saxon campaign. President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, described what he calls the "Anglo-Saxon Impulse," in the *London Times* (July 4, 1919) :

"Nothing seems to me more clear than that the world desperately needs for its leadership, guidance and safety, precisely those qualities of mind and character, known in *modern history as Anglo-Saxon*. It is the extraordinary persistence of the *Anglo-Saxon impulse* which brought America into existence, * * * it is the underlying and controlling fact in American life. It has furnished the warp through which the shuttle of time and change has woven the threads which make American history.

"Despite the large *Irish, German, Slavic, Italian, Scandinavian and Jewish* additions to the original American population, the *Anglo-Saxon impulse* holds its own. In America it is repeating, on a larger scale, the history of England, and it is drawing to itself sup-

port and strength from the other and varied nationalities that are here joined to it."

This is the most extraordinary misstatement of fact probably ever made by an American, the more so because it seems deliberately designed to disparage the United States, and especially to take away from the 75% of the population which are not English even by remote connection all credit for the progress of this country. This "Anglo-Saxon impulse" myth discredits the influence of the Spanish in Florida; the Huguenots in Virginia; the Swedes in Delaware and New Jersey; the Dutch in New York and Pennsylvania; and the Irish in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. If there ever was an Anglo-Saxon impulse influencing human affairs it has not operated for a thousand years. This being true, everything based on this myth falls flat. It is at best a pleasing phrase used freely without understanding. Its serious use by any person claiming to be educated is proof absolute either of superficiality, or a desire to fall in with the anti-American program, and to encourage and support its general adoption.

We are finding in the United States today a skillful propaganda calculated to stir animosity against Japan, likewise against France. An inspired propaganda produced mobs in New York to protest against German opera, months after opera in German was being sung in London and in Paris. We are still at war with Germany, which is anxious to resume with us the trade relations which are going on with England. Russia, our traditional friend, has been manipulated into a position of enmity to the United States. Italy resents our hostile British-inspired attitude. An anti-United States trade campaign inspired by Great Britain has been going on for more than a year in South America. Our past friendly relations with China are a liability instead of an asset.

The American people will do well to deliberate carefully before they accept at face value accusations against

the United States Shipping Board, and if wrong-doing is shown, as may be possible, to remember that Admiral Benson, who has become a particular object of foreign enmity because of his inflexible Americanism, did not come into power until after the Armistice and subsequent to the awarding of substantially all ship-building contracts. The exposures by Admiral Benson and Matthew Brush, in charge of the Hog Island shipyards, of British attempts to cripple, by unfair discrimination, and to increase the cost of our merchant marine gives sufficient incentive for the utilization of existing anti-American propaganda agencies to discredit our merchant marine before the American people.

Another propaganda campaign under the direction of Sir George Paish is working to have the United States cancel our war loans to the Allied powers, on which incidentally no interest has been paid. If this is done, it means that England will save \$5,000,000,000, and the burden of \$10,000,000,000 will fall on the United States, or, translated into the cost on each individual of a gift to England and the Allies of \$500 from each family in the United States.

On the other hand, there is imperative need for England to crave and secure, if possible, the support of the United States in its present undertakings. As the chief result of the war, from which, with hypocritical emphasis, it alleged it did not seek an added foot of territory, it emerges with control over one-half of the earth's arable surface, all of the seas, and one-third of the earth's people, with control of the agencies of news and of business, the cables and wireless, with physical possession of the trade routes to the East; with ownership of the future fuel-oil resources of the world; and, most important, with imperial dominance over the areas upon which the world must depend for its daily food. England is now engaged in the life and death struggle to hold all these gains and looks to the United States of America to be her prop as junior partner in her world imperialism. England sees in Russia, France, Germany, China and even in the land of her partner, Japan, the rapidly gathering clouds of

distrust, suspicion and resentment. In Africa, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Albania and Ireland, the souls of hundreds of millions of subject peoples are filled with the rising spirit of nationhood. This spirit was kept alive by the Irish race for hundreds of years, when it had almost died out in the rest of the world. It was given rebirth by the American Revolution, and two years ago confirmed in its hope of full flower by the apparent success of the altruistic objects for which the United States entered and won the war. Now it is being crushed by a reign of terror furiously enforced by Lloyd George and the leaders of the British Empire. The aspiration for liberty is a part of human nature; it never dies. It may be crushed for another century if the answer of this country is wrong. Can any American doubt what that answer will be?

Ever since the beginning of the United States of America the Irish have been coming here and *staying* here. It is no disparagement of the contributions which other peoples have made to the development of America to assert that no element more than the Irish has brought hither an affection for the country so free from the alloy of selfishness, so unmixed with the lingering thought of loyalty to another government.

This is so in the very nature of the case. The government from which they fled was an alien government to which they felt they owed no real allegiance, so there was no sentimental barrier in their souls toward pledging themselves to be loyal to the United States against all other governments, especially against that to which nominally they had belonged.

They lost no time weighing the advantages and disadvantages of American citizenship. It was the only real citizenship they knew, and they accepted its privileges and its opportunities with singular alacrity and gladness.

The imperial schemes and dreams of Europe had had no influence on them as Irishmen. Still less could such sinister attachments affect them as American citizens.

Their love for America has, therefore, been one of extraordinary strength and purity. It has had no ulterior motives, in the strict sense, for the sympathy they have always shown toward the struggle for independence of the country of their blood, the hopes they have entertained in her regard and the help they have given have been only another expression of their appreciation of American liberty, and a desire to see that liberty prevail throughout the world.

Thoroughly imbued with this love for freedom, the Irish element in this country has been absolutely American. The success or failure of no other government save the American government has ever influenced their thought or action. In particular, this freedom from any "entangling alliance" has made them especially keen-sighted when American interests were involved, and especially quick to scent danger in movements that too many other Americans had accepted at their face value but which were in reality plots against the very existence of an American spirit and an American state.

Such an active, clear-sighted love as this for America has not been welcome in some quarters, as is well known, and there has been an attempt to sneer at or cry down as "Irish hatred" manifestation of American patriotism on the part of the Irish element here unless it connects itself with the intertwining of the British flag with the Stars and Stripes and maudlin expressions of "Anglo-Saxon affection." The hyphen in Anglo-Saxon has been consecrated, and the hyphen that binds the American with Ireland execrated. But the only hyphenism of which the Irish in all their history in America can be justly accused is that which properly binds every real human being "to the rock from which he was hewn and the pit from which he was dugged."

When all's said and done, the Irish are in America, a sane and saving influence for the perpetuation of American ideals; and they are not ashamed of standing where the Fathers of the American Republic stood in their day, against all attempts to hurt or harm, to minimize or molest the land

to which so many hundreds of thousands of Irishmen and their American sons have, in all her wars, given the full measure of devotion.

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